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New Republic

YOUR FUTURE AND THE GOP

EISENHOWER—"THE MIDDLE WAY"
an Editorial

TAFT—RULER OF "THE HILL"
by William V. Shannon

DULLES—STEP ONE, EUROPE
by Percy Winner

Reviews and Articles by

Dudley Fitts **Parker Tyler**

Joseph Frank **Kimon Friar**

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Letters

What Are You Going to Do About It?

● The recent letters indicating a widespread desire to keep the spirit and the principles of Adlai Stevenson's campaign alive and working have been of great interest to me. Many of your readers will doubtless be interested in this report of one group in New York City.

Shortly after the election a small group of "Volunteers" agreed to meet, confer and consider what to do about it. Each participant was invited to bring one or two guests. Eighty-five people came and discussed enthusiastically the ways and means to stay together and do something constructive.

This body of 85 selected an Organizing Committee of 15. The 15-member committee has met a dozen times, with subcommittees already formed and functioning. We clarified some of the thinking and defined some of the objectives at a general meeting in December.

Now, after much sifting and winnowing and merging of ideas, a fairly clear-cut statement of principles and program outline has been evolved. . . .

We are holding our first public meeting on Tuesday, February 10, at 8:30 p.m. in the ballroom of the Hotel Delmonico. New York's new State Democratic Chairman, Dick Balch, and Helen Gahagan Douglas will address us, and we will hear reports on action already initiated by several of the committees.

Any of your readers who have expressed a desire to work for the spirit and principles of Adlai Stevenson will be sincerely welcome to join us at this meeting.

We would like especially to hear from other like-minded groups. We will appreciate contributions and memberships. Our address is 550—5th Avenue, our phone number Plaza 7-6454.

New York City HOWARD H. HORTON

Organization In San Francisco

● As a new subscriber to your estimable magazine . . . may we add comments to recent letters suggesting both ways to revive the Democratic Party and to promote Governor Adlai Stevenson?

In our area the activity is astonishing old pros who say they've never seen anything like it. All around the San Francisco Bay area party organization memberships are doubling and tripling. Many sleepy towns with no previous groups are getting together writing bylaws with fire in their eyes. And these recruits are not sitting around moaning in sympathy over their man's beautiful blue eyes; they want to work. Many complain we do not have enough work right off the bat for them to do. We are planning more intense attention to state government and to the Congress. We'd like, most of us, to elect Adlai Stevenson to the job he ought to have, but we also want to make darn sure if he isn't, that someone with his courage and belief in we, the people, is.

It is a fine thing to help the party pay off debts with grass-roots help; it helps to make citizens feel responsible. It's a fine thing to keep the spotlight on a very fine American of whom we are all proud; it shows freedom can produce great men. But we have more to do. Good democracy is a matter of individual responsibility. We have a hunch the Governor would be more flattered if all this hard work sticks to where it really changes American government as no spit and polish job at the top alone can do; he's been preaching this for years.

And he is right. We can remake the party or America if we want to—but we, the people, have to do it.

Menlo Park, Calif. K. D. EDWARDS

The Hatless Man

● General Eisenhower posed a serious hat problem by discarding the top hat in favor of a homburg. So did President Truman. Actually both were hatless on their ride to the Capitol. Their homburgs were in their laps. So the hatless man comes into his own.

At any season it takes courage to go about the business of living without a hat, but there is something defiant to sally forth on a cold wintry day. The hatless man exhibits high audacity and antagonism to custom and nature. He creates a democracy that the hatted do not possess. He obliterates social distinction. Not so long ago a man's hall-mark was stamped by the super-structure known as sombrero, top-hat, derby, bowler, chimney-pot, fedora, silk hat and so on and on and on. The hatless man creates a brotherhood that needs no club of social distinction that the officer, the imperator, the nawab affect.

The hatless man avoids ridiculous harassments the hatted man encounters. No one sits on his hat, nor does he have to run after it when the wind derails it from his knob. And he saves the trouble of checking it at the opera or restaurant.

The things you can't say to a hatless man: "I'll knock your block off" "You are talking through your hat." Nor can one charge him with subservience or begging "with hat in hand".

The hatless man is straight, erect, unbent, shoulders never hunched, makes a challenge of his presence, and becomes a part of the brisk cold air eddying about his hair. There is health-given dare in his stride and the teasing winds deter him not.

New York City MAX M. BRESLOW

"Anti-Intellectualism . . . in the Schools"

● Professor Bestor ("Anti-Intellectualism in the Schools," *NR*, Jan. 19) is talking off the top of his chagrin. His lack of understanding of what's going on in secondary education is startling. Within recent decades, high-school teachers have been grappling with an increasing flood of students who are emotionally deprived and intellectually, severely retarded.

As a university teacher, Professor Bestor is surrounded by students who share his basic assumptions and who are eager

(Continued on page 4)

Bandwagon

Predictions of Things to Come

Washington, D. C., Jan. 19—This is going to be a great day—a day that our citizens will look back upon as the day of hope, or, if things don't turn out the way we expect, a day of despair.—*From Hedda Hopper's column in the Los Angeles* Times.

That Can Be Expensive

President Eisenhower will find that life in the White House can be expensive. . . . For he not only has to pay the food bills of his own family, but for White House guests and the entire staff of household servants, some of whom eat three meals a day.—*From Drew Pearson's* Washington Merry-Go-Round.

Absolutely

Summerfield's experience as an automobile dealer and distributor gives him, it is believed, a unique training in the field of delivering the mail.—*From the* Woonsocket Call.

Those Dangerous Democrats!

Mrs. Lodge reminded me that we had attended the last Inaugural Ball four years ago together.

Without being unkind, we both remarked what a difference. The crowds in '49 were so threatening that the moment I got in the Armory, I made a bee line for the door and went right back to Alice Roosevelt Longworth, with whom I was staying.—*From Elsa Maxwell's column in the New York* Journal-American.

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – The Editors.

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New Republic

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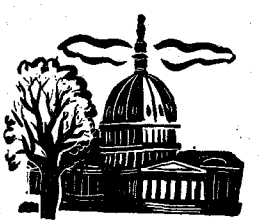
WASHINGTON WIRE

IF PRESIDENT EISENHOWER achieves the internationalism he professes, if he fights off crippling Congressional raids on defense, foreign aid and expanded world trade, it will only be done with the support of Democrats and liberals. They have a stake in Ike, too. In almost any contest with Congress he will need them, and they will need him. That is the paradox of 1953. And that is why the ineptness of Ike's inexperienced new Administration and its succession of bumbling fumbles was so agonizing in the first week.



Round the corner in Washington are the same dark forces of isolationism and demagoguery that led the attack on Ike's predecessors. There is just one rule for any new President: seize the initiative. The struggle in Washington is like that between feudal barons and a new king. Nearly everyone has hoped for a "strong" President in Ike, and yet in their amusing reflex action in the first week, GOP Congressmen—after 20 years of denouncing "executive usurpation—voted solidly in a committee to give Ike less power to streamline the bulging executive bureaucracy that Truman had.

Now that the State of the Union message is out and Ike has offered certain specific proposals, there is some sign that his Administration is off the ground. Secretary of Defense Charles Wilson has agreed to sell his GM stock and the Cabinet is confirmed. Things may come easier for a while. It should be remembered that at the start of Ike's victorious Presidential campaign the Scripps-Howard papers declared in disgust that he was "running like a dry creek." That initial difficulty may be the story again today. With the good will of the hopeful public, his own massive majority—and Democratic support on foreign affairs—his Administration should begin to get up momentum. There is malicious satisfaction for Democrats, of course, at seeing him suffer so quickly the drubbings they suffered. But in a terrified world aching for leadership, a continuation of such incidents would be calamitous.

We shiver a bit, we confess, over the decision to take the wraps off Chiang Kai-shek on Formosa and let him raid the Communist coast. It will scare India and Western Europe, and we hope it scares Communist China. If there ever was a chance for Chinese Titoism, the new policy probably ends it, and there is the flock of unanswered questions as to what happens if Chiang gets stuck in a raid and needs US troops to pry him out. On the other hand, Ike and Dulles were committed to doing something about Korea, and this is probably the least they could do. We have an idea Chiang's activity will not be very great, and we suspect that the operation will come more properly under the category of psychological warfare, which General Eisenhower has been pushing, than all-out involvement of heavy forces. The Communists, alas, are bound in turn to repeat that unfortunate comment of Ike in the campaign (Oct. 2) that if there must be a war in the Far East "let it be Asians against Asians."

Secretary Dulles has four masters to placate, Congress, the public, Europe, and the State Department personnel. He cannot succeed without the aid of everyone. If he yields to a McCarthy witch-hunt, the foreign service morale goes to pot, which would be disastrous; if he infuriates Europe by showing the US public he will take no nonsense abroad, he sacrifices hopes for the grand design of European unity. The situation would be funny if it were not so tragic. The Dulles TV-radio speech before his present trip was intended almost wholly for domestic consumption. The Secretary believes he must spend the next six months or so in building up political strength at home for the State Depart-

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ment so as to liberate it from its critics and get freedom of action. Perhaps this can be achieved. But McCarthy lurks always in the wings. The initial McCarthy attack on the Ike Administration during the unhappy first week came against Harvard's ex-president James B. Conant, a fine selection as our envoy to West Germany. Conant believes in free speech, and McCarthy countered by trying to inject against him the phony issue of anti-Catholic bias. Sooner or later, we are persuaded, a direct McCarthy-Eisenhower break is certain.

At one point in the President's State of the Union "middle-way" address he said simply, "The time for sacrifice has not ended." Most of Ike's troubles, we are persuaded, will grow out of trying to enforce that admirable thesis against a GOP Congress that is hell-bent on tax reduction and relaxed effort. For 20 years Republicans have built up the fairy-tale that the budget can be balanced almost overnight, by "efficiency" and by proper international policies. The worst enemies Ike has in Congress are those members—mostly of his own party—who are prepared to stop at nothing to show how right they were. One way to cut taxes would be, of course, to drop the Korean War. (Our taxes would be lower, also, if we had kept out of World War I and II!) Another big cut would follow adoption of the Hoover-Taft doctrine of "Fortress America." Colonel McCormick and Hearst would balance the budget in no time by wiping out every vestige of foreign aid.

The passion for slackened sacrifice and easier living is hard to overestimate though Ike may stem it for a while. Who would have guessed that 28 of the necessary 32 state legislatures would vote for the preposterous "millionaires' amendment" for a Constitutional convention to put a 25-percent ceiling on federal income taxes? Now that the *Readers Digest* has no New Deal to pummel, its scapegoat appears to be federal taxes. The only allies that can save Ike, when this D-Day comes are, we suspect, the Democrats and liberals.

Washington T.R.B.

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 2)

to understand the content of his lectures. From where he sits, the failure to emphasize the "disciplines" of history, economics and political science is anti-intellectual.

What he ought to do is spend a year or so as a teacher of his subject in an average, urban high school. . . . He will find that all the wit, eloquence and scholarship he can muster will leave most of his students sublimely apathetic and unimpressed.

His dismal experiences in the high-school classroom will make him first humble and then curious. He would then probably take a look at some of the serious work done on this problem by the sociologists and the anthropologists. The "intellectual v. anti-intellectual" dichotomy would soon emerge as something superficial and irrelevant.

A note of caution is in order. If Professor Bestor immerses himself too deeply in the problem, he runs the risk of transforming himself from historian to educator.

New York City P. F. DUNNE

● Thanks to the *NR* for the sensible and penetrating article, "Anti-Intellectualism in the Schools" by Arthur E. Bestor Jr. (*NR*, Jan. 19).

The lunacies in the name of education which Mr. Bestor succinctly exposes are a reaction to the kind of thinking that dominated the schools at the beginning of this century and which still persists in the minds of a few secondary teachers. But because Latin conjugations and the Plantaganet kings and Burke's Speech on Conciliation now seem passé, the educational philosophers who formulate what Mr. Bestor calls rightly "the party line" would do away with the teaching of anything.

The author of the article is entirely right when he says that the great majority of the classroom teachers in the secondary schools share his opinions. The "party line" is laid down by people who have little or no teaching experience in the typical American comprehensive public high school, or have been out of the classroom for years. . . .

Mr. Bestor's plan for the creation of a Permanent Scientific and Scholarly Commission on Secondary Education is sound and deserves active support. Such a commission would have a lifetime's work just analyzing the whole libraries of nonsense published under the heading of Education; of investigating the whole colleges of astrologers, palmists, and alchemists who bear the rank of Professor of Education; of studying the top-heavy administrative and auxiliary-service bureaucracies so fashionable in the large school systems while teachers continue to be underpaid and classrooms remain overcrowded.

Philadelphia, Pa. I. G. K.

A Suggestion

● . . . With my check for a two-year's subscription to *NR*, I want to offer a suggestion. My 13 weeks' subscription has convinced me the *NR* is worth reading. A 13 weeks' subscription might convince others—namely our Congressmen and women, not the really liberal ones—the Humphrey's and Lehman's—but the near-liberals—Mrs. Smith, Tobey, etc. If the readers of *NR* were to send 13 weeks' subscription to some of these men and women who are probably too busy to read much that isn't always at hand—*Time*, the *Post*, the *Star*, etc., maybe, being reasonably open-minded persons, they would take up reading *NR* as a weekly antedote to the ignorance spawned by a one-party press.

Ithaca, N. Y. WALTER B. HALL

Cousin to Cousin

● Much to my surprise I read a letter from a cousin of mine, Alan Price of San Diego, in the December 22 issue of the *New Republic*. To add to my surprise were the reasons he gave for voting against Mr. Stevenson. . . .

As for the Truman Administration backing him, and I admit the good and bad in that, may I remind my cousin that President-elect Eisenhower did not divorce himself of McCarthy or Senator Jenner.

As for the nominations being manipulated, let's not be naïve about this thing. How about all the delegates at the convention pledged to Taft? Dewey deserves congratulations on this score. As for the so-called "powerful rule" of the labor bosses, I feel you need not worry. It was proven in this last election that labor is free to think, act and vote as it pleases. . . .

Charleston, W. Va. JANET FRANZ

The Future Course

● . . . A leadership capable of instilling, through promises of hardship, patience and endurance, faith and confidence into close to 27 million people, of transporting them into rational, reflective thinking, of raising their intellectual sights, curiosities and tastes, is equally capable of proving itself worthy of leading again and vindicating its cause.

Philadelphia, Pa. MAX BISER

Direct Primaries

● I think some reforms are needed to bring about a more democratic method in electing our presidents. I feel that the electoral college system should be abolished and Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates should be chosen in direct national primaries.

Cedar Rapids, Iowa FREDERICK J. MILLER

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VOLUME 128, NUMBER 6, ISSUE 1993, WASHINGTON, D. C., FEBRUARY 9, 1953 **New Republic**

EISENHOWER'S "MIDDLE WAY"

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER has set out to find a "middle way" between Taft and Truman. Understandably, his first address as Chief Executive did not contain the complete road map for the entire journey. Necessarily, the detail will be unfolded a bit at a time. But the directions for the line of march contained in the State of the Union Message are neither clear nor challenging.

There is—in world affairs—a steady course to be followed between an assertion of strength that is truculent and a confession of helplessness that is cowardly. . . . There is—in our affairs at home—a middle way between untrammeled freedom of the individual and the demands for the welfare of the whole Nation.

We seek this path, Eisenhower affirms, to achieve "four ruling purposes":

1. Application of our influence in world affairs with such fortitude and such foresight that it will deter aggression and eventually secure peace;
2. Establishment of a national administration of such integrity and such efficiency that its honor at home will ensure respect abroad;
3. Encouragement of those incentives that inspire creative initiative in our economy, so that its productivity may fortify freedom everywhere; and,
4. Dedication to the well-being of all our citizens and to the attainment of equality of opportunity for all. . . .

Most of the proposals in Eisenhower's message for achieving these purposes are vague and imprecise. In three instances, however, there are specific recommendations for major actions, all of which are cause for alarm.

Among President Eisenhower's many campaign promises was one which, perhaps unwittingly, created hope of a quick end to the Korean War. The strongest pressure on him during his first few weeks in office, consequently, has been to take some action to support that hope. His State of the Union Message contains an order to the Seventh Fleet allowing Nationalist raids against the Chinese mainland. That order has already been ballyhooed as the first step in a policy which will eventually cause China to regret ever having intervened in Korea.

"The enormity of the present threat," General Eisenhower said upon quitting his European command, "will never be met by half-hearted measures or any superficial military façades . . . the pattern of events which point so surely to ultimate disaster can be changed only if the peoples of the West have the wisdom to make a complete break with many things of the past and show a willingness to do something new and challenging."

It is pertinent to ask: Will this new order appreciably effect the pattern of events in Asia, specifically Korea? Is it "something new and challenging "which will undercut Communist strength, or a "half-hearted measure," which cannot meet the "enormity of the present threat"? Worse, could this order and the policy it implies, damage our position in Korea and throughout Asia?

In the UN a Chinese spokesman said one, and most probably, two years will be required before the Nationalists can mount a serious operation against the Chinese mainland. The reasons are easily grasped:

Chiang has 275 airplanes. Of the 550,000 men available to Chiang, some 300,000 are designated ground-fighting troops. At the very most, 100,000 of these are equipped and trained. He has 75,000 men—regulars, commandos and guerrillas—holding some 35 islands in a 500-mile axis along the South China coast—forces which cannot be grouped for a major operation. He has then not more than 80,000 men ready and able to hit the mainland. But these cannot be used at one time; in their absence Formosa would be defenseless. And they are not expendable in the usual military sense, for they must replace their losses from the limited—9.2 million—population of the island. How large a military force could New York City support?

Yet, even supposing he could muster 50,000 men for an operation, Chiang simply does not have the ships to transport them, much less the naval and air power to protect and sustain them. And whatever force he might send against the mainland would meet from 100,000 to 400,000 Communists already along the coast. And if Chiang's forces were trapped or threatened with severe losses during a raid, would we allow his forces to be decimated? In order to prevent it, we should have to weaken our *forces* in Korea or Japan. He is, then, limited to small raids which cannot force the Communists to pull troops from Korea.

And if Chiang pulled off a series of successful raids, our past experience with him indicates the energy he will devote to publicizing them here, and to exerting pressure for more support—equipment, arms, and finally men?

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The greatest difficulty caused the Chinese Communist regime by the Korean War has been the inability to describe it convincingly to their people as a defense of Chinese soil against foreign invasion. Once such a claim was supported by the presence of Americans in force in attacking China, the public support which would accrue is attested to by the whole of Chinese history. And propaganda concerning Western aggression will find fertile ground throughout Asia.

The President's order is but a peripheral action which not only leaves the basis of Communist strength there untouched, but also threatens to weaken ours while further strengthening theirs. The order, to make sense, must be but the first step in a policy which envisions blocking China and bombing Manchuria.

A blockade is at best a slow and wasting assault; in this case it would be useless without bombardment of the South Manchurian railroad. If we bomb the railroad we will surely bomb the air bases. But where will this stop? There are also air bases in Shantung province, within easy range of South Korea. And will we also blockade Russian Port Arthur and Dairen? It would be ineffectual otherwise. The dangers of such a policy are evident: it is self-energizing and self-expanding.

Long before we approached total war we would require more planes and ships for only these initial steps. We should have to weaken ourself in Europe and in the Mediterranean to get them. To extend the Asian conflict and maintain our strength in Europe, we should have to approach a total-war economy. What then would happen to taxes, budget, and so many other promises, not least of which was the avoidance of "ultimate disaster."

The message also outlines a "new, tough" policy in Europe designed to go hand in hand with that in Asia. Eisenhower notes Europe's considerable accomplishment in the face of bankrupt economies and crushing physical and human destruction. He says "Mutual Security means effective mutual co-operation," and rightly calls on Europe to speed unification. He calls on Congress to "remove procedural obstacles to profitable trade," and to "extend the Reciprocal Trade Agreement." He pledges the government to do what it "properly" can to encourage "private American investment abroad." He approves, with reservation, the off-shore purchasing program, and he recognizes the need for importing "greater amounts of raw materials which we do not ourselves possess in adequate quantities."

If by "procedural obstacles to profitable trade," the President meant "peril point" provisions and "Buy American Laws," he is right—and he could have said so. If he realizes that only government can "properly" encourage private investment abroad, he could have said so. If he includes Point Four in the proper function of government, he could have said so.

If he recognizes the need to guarantee minimum purchases of raw materials in order to stimulate their production, else they will not be available when we badly need them, he could have said so.

And, finally, if he knows that without a realistic North Atlantic convertability system such measures as he described, even if buttressed by the most severe anti-inflation policies in other nations, and by complete economic unification in Europe, would save our allies from bankruptcy only if they apply the most stringent controls over imports from us, he could have said so. He did not.

And if this vague language and these serious omissions were intended to charm the Taft-Regional Interest-Special Privilege-Millikin elements, we must surmise that Eisenhower has still to learn an old lesson of history: that toughness cannot replace wisdom, nor evasiveness, policy.

The concepts of full employment and an expanding economy, the basis of our economic policy since the end of World War II, were abandoned in the President's message to Congress. Rather, there is this alarming evidence of the economic thinking of the new Administration:

> Our whole system is based on the assumption that, normally, we should combat wide fluctuations in our price structure by relying largely on the effective use of sound fiscal and monetary policy and upon the workings of economic law.

We cannot escape the conclusion that the President and his economic and fiscal advisers subscribe to the belief that nothing fundamentally new has happened since Adam Smith and Herbert Hoover.

Almost as if they had anticipated this attitude, former President Truman and his economic advisers in their Fifth Annual Economic Report warned:

> While striving vigorously to avoid inflationary movements, we must realize that our primary purpose is full employment and production and the fair distribution of this abundance among all people in all groups. Price policy, like all other economic policy, should be constantly tested against these objectives; it should not be allowed to obscure them. These comments pertain to monetary policy. . . .

The new Administration's prescription for the nation's "economic health and strength" is a full reliance on indirect controls—fiscal, money and credit policies.

The immediate objectives are a "stable dollar" and a return to "a maximum of freedom in market prices." Some of the steps toward these goals, both announced and implied, are: 1. Reduction of the national debt and a balanced budget. 2. Proper debt management, including increase in interest rates. 3. Reduction of taxes, after the budget is controlled. 4. Credit restrictions. 5. Removal of direct controls.

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No guide was offered by the President as to precisely how the national debt will be reduced. Some of the more detailed proposals on management of the debt—which have already been put into effect—indicate that the programs of indirect controls and economy in spending are going to be difficult to reconcile. The first move was the shift of the debt into higher-rate and longer-term obligations. As a result, when Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey finishes refunding about $9 billion of the debt this month, it will cost the taxpayers about $90 million more than current carrying charges due to a probable rise of one-half of one percent in rates.

Former Secretary of the Treasury Snyder had vigorously battled Federal Reserve Board efforts to establish the terms on which the government's financial requirements would be met. Although deploring the dispute, Eisenhower seems to favor shifting the responsibility of economic stabilization to the Reserve Board which espouses the views of the banks and investment houses that hold most of the government's securities. An across-the-board increase in interest rates may be anticipated. For the economy as a whole, this means that the increased cost of servicing the debt will absorb anticipated cuts to be squeezed out of social-welfare.

No tax reductions are envisaged in the Eisenhower message until the budget is balanced and the danger of inflation has receded. At such time as this occurs, the President indicates, he will offer proposals which will include structural changes in tax rates and regulations. More hope, in this respect, was held out to business and corporate interests than to the lower income groups.

On the issue of direct controls the President is not even displaying the caution that conservative Sen. Homer Capehart, chairman of the Senate Banking Committee, has shown. Capehart has asked for a continuance of stand-by controls in the belief that without them Congress could not act fast enough in the event of another inflationary spiral.

The Chief Executive states rather bluntly that "the character of our people resists artificial or arbitary controls of any kind." Yet, as recently as January 22, the Gallup Poll reported that 61 percent of the American people want federal wage and price controls to continue after the expiration date of April 30.

The system of indirect controls may well provide the Administration with the perfect "out." Apparently it is prepared to refer all groups to the welfare of the market, absolving itself of all responsibility for decision as to allocations of resources or the distribution of the national income or to the question of full employment.

The President showed little more self-confidence on domestic issues than he did during the campaign. He apologized for the fact that he was not presenting a comprehensive home-front program at this time and promised he would submit additional recommendations "after appropriate study."

On the issue of loyalty among government employees, the President firmly reasserted the responsibility of the Executive Branch. McCarthy and all other investigating Congressmen were put on definite notice that in this respect the Administration does not invite or welcome further "policing by another branch of the government," with all its attendant "disorder and confusion." To that end, the President announced that all departments and agencies "have been instructed to initiate at once effective programs of security with respect to their personnel." The Attorney General is to advise and guide the shaping of these programs under existing powers.

But the institution of these new "programs of security" raises far more questions than it resolves. Are these programs to be nothing more than additional or modified regulations superimposed on the present loyalty network headed by the Loyalty Review Board? Eisenhower commendably noted the need "to clear the atmosphere of that unreasoned suspicion that accepts rumor and gossip as substitutes for evidence." But that is but one of the countless evils inherent in the present program. Those evils can be effectively eliminated only if the loyalty program as we now know it is completely eliminated.

In our affairs at home, said Eisenhower, the middle way will "avoid government by bureaucracy as carefully as it avoids neglect of the helpless." Senator Taft, had he been the Republican victor, would have included in his message the same thought, perhaps even in the same words. The concept of charity seems to dominate the new Administration's program as it always has dominated Taft's health, housing and other social legislation.

Eisenhower calls for an expansion of social-security benefits "to millions not now covered"—the millions whom Taft and the US Chamber of Commerce agree are "helpless" enough to need such protection. Regarding education, his concern is only with the states which have low per-capita income. Health and housing needs, he said, must be planned to assure "the solvency of the whole security system."

Eisenhower inherited a foreign policy devoted to the containment of Communism through raising the living and producing standards of the world, and a domestic policy devoted to a high living standard and ever-increasing production at home through full employment. He has tried to insert "toughness" into the foreign policy without modifying its base, and has turned domestic policy over to free-market exponents expressing faith in "natural economic laws."

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DULLES FACES CHAOS IN EUROPE

THE EUROPE to which Secretary Dulles has come to carry out his first official *tour d'horizon* is very different from the one General Eisenhower left less than a year ago. The change is so great politically—and, psychologically, so much for the worse—that it is hard to believe the interval of time so short. And, so far, Dulles' answer has been to curry favor with the American public by broadcasting vague threats of disfavor if Europe did not quickly unite, when he might have spoken his mind privately to the chiefs of the governments involved. These last are now faced with having their every offer to co-operate with US policy labelled "subservience."

When Eisenhower went home to crusade for the Presidency, it was the late spring of what seemed the best year for the West since the issue of the Cold War was overtly joined in the winter 1947-1948. In the rhetorical euphoria lingering after the Lisbon conference of NATO, the crusading liberator of Europe appeared to have given the final, magically successful touch to the policy of armed containment of Soviet aggression that men less gifted with magic—Truman, Acheson, Marshall and others—had created but had been unable to put into effective practice.

The Cold War was at last really going well for our side. The tempo was fast, the general spirit in Europe cheerful and confident. Communism and Sovietism were both in retreat. European unity—even some form of the illusive Franco-German *bruderschaft*—was just around the corner. The new military divisions of the European Defense Community could almost be heard on the march. And for all this the simplest reason was that Eisenhower—a man who at AFHQ and SHAEF had learned the relativistic, delicately balancing technique of fusing wholes out of divergent national parts—had given prestige to US power: European faith in him personally was also trust in the wisdom and fairness of US leadership.

Now, it is mid-winter, the coldest and bleakest in many years. The weather reports fit well with a description of the climate of opinion: hail, sleet and snow, even in Sicily and southern Spain; rivers in flood and unusable; roads coated with ice and impassable; gelid fogs for weeks at a time—and, to help matters, waves of epidemic virus influenza. The paper on which the Lisbon divisions were blueprinted is not even rustling. The EDC is still a cardboard castle in Spain, while a real national army is being made by the Pentagon for Franco and an ugly revival of some of the worst features of nationalism is the order of the day almost everywhere.

The hope and confidence of less than a year ago have been replaced by doubt, dissension, confusion among the masses—and, among the so-called leaders, by get-what-you-can-fast intrigues for personal and national power, of a particularly mean and petty variety. Though new horrors come in rapid succession from behind the Iron Curtain, alienating sympathizers, frightening fellow-travelers and causing local crises in Western Communist circles, support for European policies presumed to be of US inspiration has by no means increased. On the contrary, anti-US feeling grows stronger.

If French politics has reached a new snarling low in sterility, resentment against the US is one of the obstacles to finding an agreement on common sense and common decency. GIs walking English lanes are held personally responsible for catalogues of US iniquities—the McCarran law, McCarthyist witch-hunting and the Rosenberg case.

What Dulles must find—if he is ready to face the facts—is that the Cold War which Eisenhower seemed to be winning is now changing its shape, form and meaning. It is becoming a tug of war, slow in tempo, and difficult to manage by the old methods, such as those of Lisbon. For this long pull—and there seems little doubt that it will be long and hard—what is needed from US leadership is not the spirit of the crusade nor the technique of the campaign but the careful, skillful broken-field running at which FDR was so good—that plus the clarity and courage to help free men keep both freedom and strength without being afraid or wielding the weapon of fear.

Above all, US policy needs to be relativistic—as was FDR's or Eisenhower's before he became a candidate; it needs to lead as an equal among equals, recognizing and accepting the fact that the US does not set an absolute pattern for the whole free world. For the method behind the new Soviet madnesses, also geared to the requirements of the long pull tug of war, is domination, standardization, fear and absolutism.

Instead of clarity and courage, Moscow wants blind, unthinking—and it should be emphasized, unfanatical or adventurous—obedience.

Hence, Czechoslovakia and Eastern Germany must be no man's lands of thought, reason or intercourse with freedom. And as for the anti-Jewish line, there is more to it than winning over the Grand Mufti and the Moslem world; or the neo-Nazis; or the German military professionals. There is also more to it than Malenkov's power struggle against Beria, or the bid to the high cadres of the Red Army.

The line provides a mixture of Tsarist pogromism and Hitlerian genocide to achieve the vertical absolute of utter isolation—to protect the Russian Fatherland from men presumed to have as their birthright (or curse) the original sin of a questioning intelligence and an umbilical tie to the concept of the objective Law. It is relevant that Karl Maron, chief of the East German police, says that "objectivists" are hidden saboteurs and agents of the enemy.

The fanatical Moslems and the lunatic fringes of the neo-Nazis applaud, but there is nothing in the reviving nationalisms of Europe that even faintly resembles such madness. The danger is that in creating and aggravating internal strains in Europe, and between Europe and the US, the nationalisms will weaken our side in the tug of war. If the EDC

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turns out to be impossible, some form of close alliance still remains a possibility—but not if Dulles insists, as he did before his departure to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, on his dynamic doctrine of liberation.

There is little to suggest, moreover, that the new Secretary of State, or the new President, or any of the GOP leaders, is aware of the real reasons for the disastrous change in the climate of European opinion since last spring. One of the factors is isolation—not the doctrine but the fact of US isolation during the long Presidential campaign. Another is the accumulation of Eisenhower's own errors of commission and omission, that pulled him down from his pedestal of prestige. While charming the US voters, he disenchanted the Europeans. Worse still, his conduct at home and the company he kept made US leadership abroad suspect.

Worst of all, President Eisenhower is no longer the American Number One, or even the Mr. America he used to be. Despite all the promises he made of support for Europe, there is little chance of his and Dulles' being able to continue the policies of Truman and Acheson.

There must be a change; and in some ways, this needs to be almost a fresh start toward defining the meaning of Atlanticism. What it meant under the heirs of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms, needs to be clarified under the new team —the big businessmen with more experience in the profits of industrial production than in the benefits of people; the small-time politicians who suddenly have acquired the Free World as their constituency and aren't quite sure that it deserves white Americans' civil rights; and the purgers of political sin who have everything to fear on behalf of America's and the Free World's freedom, especially the absence of fear and the presence of independence or even just difference.

Paris PERCY WINNER

BOB TAFT, THE NEW BOSS

by William V. Shannon

SEN. ROBERT A. TAFT has been looking uncommonly happy during these opening days of the new Administration. His temper has been sunny, his spleen quiescent, his smile positively beatific. Which naturally prompts the question: has Eisenhower failed already?

It is no discredit to Mr. Taft's personal rectitude and overly developed sense of responsibility to observe that it usually bodes ill for the welfare of the republic when he is happy. His private view of the cosmos is so notoriously one which excludes terror and anxiety and fatiguing foreign problems that when he is happy it invariably means that he has found some way of making the real world comport with his foreshortened and unreal notion of it. This, in fact, he has now done.

Senator Taft has not only survived the coming to power of his enemies in the party but he has moved forward to consolidate and extend his power. Bob Taft is now boss of the Senate. In certain respects, he has developed a feudal overlordship of the House as well.

Taft is majority leader of the Senate and a member of the Republican Policy Committee and the Foreign Relations Committee and the Joint Committee on the Economic Report. In the House, Rep. Leo Allen of Illinois and Rep. Clarence Brown of Ohio, two old-time Taft stalwarts, man the top positions of the powerful Rules Committee. Directly in the Senate and indirectly in the House, therefore, Taft is able to control the flow of legislation to the floor, the scheduling and timing of debates, and virtually the success or failure of any bill. He can decisively influence the size of the budget, the amount of foreign aid, the future of Point Four, the content of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Law, and many other vital matters in the foreign-affairs field. Bob Taft is in a position to make American foreign policy wear blinders.

Taft's power extends through a coterie of committee chairmen almost all of whom are vassals of his. His closest ally and the second most influential man in the Senate is urbane and disingenuous Sen. Eugene Millikin, the bald, portly Colorado Republican. Millikin is president of the Republican Conference and chairman of the Finance Committee. The remaining chairmen are either loyal Taftmen such as Sen. Hugh Butler (R, Nebr.), chairman of Interior and Insular Affairs, or weak men who sway with the greatest pressure such as Sen. Styles Bridges (R, N.H.), chairman of Appropriations, and Sen. Leverett Saltonstall (R, Mass.), chairman of Armed Services.

The one committee where Taft's influence had previously been feeble was that of Foreign Relations. Sen. Alexander Wiley of Wisconsin, the new chairman, is an amiable and goodhearted, if sometimes rather befuddled internationalist. His colleagues from both parties are men in the cautious but usually reliable tradition of Vandenberg and Connally. There were no dependable supporters of Taft's procrustean theory of foreign policy on the committee in the last Congress; no one, that is, who favored, in Alistair Cooke's phrase "all (foreign) aid short of an unbalanced budget," no one who put tax reduction for the starving owner of two Cadillacs ahead of European defense. This was obviously a state of affairs that had to be remedied and Taft set out to remedy it.

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The four new members of the committee this year are Sens. William Knowland, Homer Ferguson, William Langer and Taft. Knowland is for foreign aid as long as we give every second dollar to the Chinese Nationalists. The other two gentlemen have shown themselves to be as erratic and untrustworthy in their foreign-policy thinking as Taft.

Taft moreover continues to preside over the Republican-Dixiecrat alliance. When Senate liberals kicked up a fuss over pro-civil-rights rule changes at the beginning of the session, Sen. Richard Russell of Georgia paid "a New Year's call" on Taft, and old understandings were duly renewed.

Taft has brought all this power into his own hands because Eisenhower's political managers have bungled their job. The only rationale from the point of view of the larger interests of the country for putting the Republicans back in office is that it would presumably bring to the fore the more responsible elements of the GOP. Again and again during the campaign and for years before that, the nation heard the refrain that the McCarthys and the Jenners were the inevitable pathological offspring of a party too long out of power. Bring the Republicans in, it was argued, and the intelligent modern-minded, Eisenhower-Dewey-Lodge faction would bring the party under control and make it responsible.

In other words, the Eisenhower Republicans have just one mission: smash Taft. This was the *raison d'etre* for Eisenhower's own candidacy: to save the party and the country from Taft.

The Eisenhower Administration has so far shown marked incapacity to do the job. It is work for which the General has no talent and no shrewdness. For this task it would have been infinitely preferable to have elected Gov. Thomas E. Dewey, a practiced master of his craft. Attorney-General Herbert Brownell, Dewey's surrogate and the chief patronage dispenser, has apparently the will but not the flawless technique.

He made the critical error of letting Taft get away. The old leader was fading and Brownell failed to deliver the crushing blow. The opportune moment came midway through the November-to-January interregnum when Taft spluttered forth his opinion that the appointment of Martin Durkin as Secretary of Labor was incredible. Few appointments had then been made. The big, little and medium-sized Republican politicians were waiting like cats on the picket fence all in a row, each hoping Mother Brownell would give him the biggest saucer of cream. Everyone thought Old Bob's yowl was bad manners and very, very indiscreet.

If Taft's cry of outrage did not frighten Brownell, it did disturb the clique of Kansas politicians around Eisenhower headed by Sen. Frank Carlson. The Kansans have no ideological color; they are like Kentuckians in the Democratic Party. Conservative by instinct, sometimes liberal by choice, their paramount desire is to have harmony and keep everybody happy. They quickly persuaded the naïve General that it was not pleasant or comfortable to have Mr. Taft in a disturbed state of mind. The President-elect saw merit in this suggestion. (Has not the otherwise sapient Washington *Post* informed the General he is to preside over a new Era of Good Feelings?) He promptly allowed Taft to be informed that he could have the majority leadership. Conciliatory noises were also made about giving Taft's views on patronage greater consideration.

This greatly emboldened the Ohioan's colleagues. They saw they had no real reason to be impressed by Eisenhower's thumping six-million-vote victory in the election compared to their own wafer-thin margins in the House and Senate.

If the new President was not going to exploit the large differential between his popular following and theirs, they certainly were not the men to remind him of the fact. Moreover, Taft very soon found an issue with which to make common cause with his fellows and expand his personal quarrel with the Brownell-Dewey faction into a broad impersonal offensive.

Brownell as patronage dispenser had not been scrupulous on the matter of clearing appointments in each state with the respective Senators. In too many states, the Senators are old-line Taft men. Consider, for example, Indiana (Jenner and Capehart) or Idaho (Welker and Dworshak) or Nevada (Malone) or Illinois (Dirksen). Brownell alternated between consulting no one and consulting governors, national committeemen, state chairmen, and various other party sachems—whomever might be most likely to give him the favorable opinion he sought.

Under Taft's leadership, the Senate Republicans organized not one but two successive demarches on the incoming President. They coerced him, in the politest possible way of course, on the subject of his and their respective prerogatives. These public demonstrations of distrust were without precedent in Presidential history. Eisenhower responded to this overt bullying with soft words and pious declarations of hope.

The forced withdrawal of former Gov. Val Peterson's nomination as Ambassador to India and the obstacles presently being raised to Clare Luce's selection as envoy to Italy indicate the full ruthlessness of the Senate drive to power.

Taft and his fellow-Senators were not much worried by the Cabinet, whether or not those automobile sales-

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men, plumbers and other worthies strained their credulity. Their genuine concern is the meat-and-potatoes jobs. Positions such as federal district-attorneys, marshals, collectors-of-the-port and postmasters are the staff of life to the state and city organizations.

Indeed, in states where Republican organizations have underworld alliances, such as in Illinois, New Jersey, and in Taft's own bailiwick, Cincinnati, and northern Kentucky, control of these federal offices is indispensable protection.

Similarly in the Production and Marketing Administration and in other agencies and bureaus of the Agriculture and Interior Departments there are thousands of jobs which are decisive to political hegemony in the Midwest and Far West.

Brownell and his allies are fighting off the Senators because the Senators want to put in hacks, and seven hacks out of every 10 are Taft disciples.

Taft has a rather considerable advantage in his quarrel with the Eisenhower Administration. The new President has weighted the cabinet with businessmen. Even Arthur Summerfield, Brownell and Sinclair Weeks, his three political appointees, are the fund-raiser and party-manager type rather than the professional, vote-winning, office-seeking politician. Taft and his associates in the Senate represent the business community but do not respect its political expertise. Politics and office-holding they regard as skilled professions, quite as unique and difficult to learn as banking or steel manufacturing. When Taft complains about patronage problems, he speaks for a fraternity that feels itself menaced.

It might be argued in Brownell's defense that he had no choice save to accede to Taft's election as majority leader since there was no satisfactory alternative. Undoubtedly Senator Bridges, with his ambiguous Grunewald connections and his old and profitable tie-up with John L. Lewis, or the intellectually unimpressive Senator Knowland would be a far less effective floor leader than Taft.

The conservative coalition, however, has top-heavy majorities in both houses. Rounding up stray votes for the Eisenhower domestic program will scarcely be a taxing assignment. In the foreign field, Taft will be more dangerous in his present pivotal position than he would be as a free lance. President Eisenhower's problem with Congress is going to be quite different from President Truman's. Mr. Truman struggled to make his divided Congressional majority act responsibly. Instead of a succession of weak leaders like Scott Lucas and Ernest MacFarland, he would have been better served if responsibility had been centered on Senator Russell, the man with the real authority. Mr. Eisenhower, on the other hand, can get all the extra votes he needs from the Southerners. His problem is not a feeble and divided majority but an overweening and powerful majority intent on Congressional government. He, in turn, would be better served not by recognizing Taft as the most powerful figure but by fracturing and dispersing Senatorial power among several leaders. A quadrumvirate, such as ran the Senate in the 80th Congress and consisting of Taft, Millikin, Bridges and a weak floor leader such as Knowland or Saltonstall, would have served Eisenhower's interests best.

Would have, that is, if strong executive leadership is his goal. His goals, unfortunately, remain considerably less clear than those of self-willed, self-sufficient, self-assured Robert A. Taft.

KANSAS CITY'S "ONE-PARTY PRESS"

by Jean Begeman

IN SEVERAL of his columns during the campaign, Drew Pearson exposed Vice-President Nixon's dubious financial arrangements while a member of the House and Senate. The Kansas City *Times* did not print them. Strongly Republican, the *Times* went a step further and did not renew the Pearson contract when it expired in December.

The *Times* could afford to drop Pearson without suffering loss of subscribers since there is no comparable news competitor in Kansas City. The Kansas City Star Company owns the morning *Times*, the evening *Star* and the *Sunday Star*, and 96 percent of all homes in the metropolitan area receive all three papers for the simple reason that if you subscribe to one, you have to subscribe to all three—there is only one price.

This package deal, which Roy Roberts, president of the Kansas City Star Company, describes as "the greatest bargain in the country," has upon investigation proved to be an effective way to discourage or strangle newspaper competition. And to assure a near monopoly of classified and national advertising, the Star Company requires that if you advertise in the *Times*, you must advertise in the *Star*—the price is just the same.

Through these and other devices, the Star Company has been the dominant newspaper publisher in Kansas City, Mo., for 50 years.

The *Star*, founded in 1880, gradually bought out the other local papers until, by 1928, the Kansas City *Journal* (formerly *Journal-Post*) was its lone competitor. The

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Journal became one of the editorial voices of the New Deal—a policy in direct contrast to the *Star*—and, for awhile, Kansas City had a "two-party" press. But, despite the fact that Kansas City has always been heavily Democratic, the *Journal* could not compete with the Star Company's three-paper, cut-rate enterprise, and in 1942 Harry Newman's last editorial in the *Journal* bade farewell to the *Star* with "the traditional handshake at the last bell of the last round." It was quite a knock-out, and no one has entered the big ring since that day. Perhaps to be on the safe side, the Star Company purchased the trade-names *Journal*, *Post* and *Journal-Post* in 1944 as well as some of the defunct newspaper's linotypes and files.

In addition to its newspapers, the Star Company owns *The Weekly Star Farmer*, radio station WDAF, and owns and operates Kansas City's only television station, WDAF-TV.

Last July a neighborhood weekly began publishing a tabloid-sized daily called the *Daily News-Press*, distributed by mail to some 600 subscribers. Each of the Star papers has a circulation of over 350,000 so the *News-Press* is hardly considered competition—unless a merchant decides to place an ad with the Sunday *News-Press* (circ., 7,000), at which point the *Star's* advertising department is likely to object. There is another "competitor" nearby—the *Kansas City Kansan*, an evening and Sunday paper published by the Arthur Capper chain. Although K.C., Kansas, and K.C., Missouri, are only separated by a river in some parts and a street in others, the *Kansan* cannot be purchased in Missouri. It is not sold across the border either by street vendor or carrier. However, the *Star*, *Times* and *Sunday Star* are distributed in Kansas. In fact, the circulation of the *Kansan* in its own distribution territory is much less than either the *Times* or the *Star* circulation in Kansas. This one-way traffic indicates the effectiveness of the Star Company's "closed-shop" operation in Missouri.

The growth of the Star Company to a place of influence and control of the major media in an area of one million population brought complaints of monopoly. The editors and publishers of small weekly and daily newspapers in nearby towns and Kansas City suburbs formed a committee six years ago and sent a representative to Washington. Both Attorneys-General Tom Clark and Howard McGrath heard their complaints but not until last June—just two weeks after a court precedent was established—did the Antitrust Division of the Justice Department begin its investigation. (A Federal District Court in New Orleans on May 29 had decided that morning and afternoon combination advertising-sales policies violate the antitrust laws.) On January 6, a Federal Grand Jury indicted the Star Company, Roy A. Roberts and Emil A. Sees, the Star's advertising director, for violations of the Sherman Antitrust Law. The Justice Department also filed a civil antitrust action to "enjoin continuation of the violations, to restore competition, and to revoke the radio and TV station licenses of the Star Company."

The indictment brought enthusiastic editorials from the smaller publications. *The Kansas City Kansas Shopper*, a free advertising circular, pointed out that the indictment "did not come as a surprise to a great number of business firms in the Kansas City area, and certainly not to the publishers of large and small papers within the Star's sphere of influence. . . . Actually, fear of reprisals in some form or another is what has in the past kept local and national advertisers across the nation from taking action against the Star."

Editor Garrett Smalley of the Kansas City *News-Press* in an open letter to Roy Roberts reminded him that:

> Many times I have personally appealed to the Star's advertising department to cease and desist from persecuting and intimidating our advertisers, and they were certainly few advertisers compared to those your daily had. . . . For years the *News-Press* has led the fight here for equity. It received the wholehearted support of many small newspapers in the community, as well as other advertising media. The road was a rough one and the *Star* . . . put many obstacles in our way.

Here, according to the indictment filed by the Grand Jury, is how the Star Company gained control of:

Newspaper Advertising—The indictment charges that the Star Company has attempted to monopolize newspaper advertising by refusing to accept copy from firms which use any other medium published in Kansas City—such as a shoppers' handbill, a suburban newspaper (like the *News-Press*), or even direct-mail advertising. For example, a merchant who had advertised elsewhere might find his regular ad in the *Star* moved to a most disadvantageous page in the newspaper or he might find that his credit, which had previously been good, was no longer honored by the *Star's* advertising department.

The Star Company, according to the indictment, has established a system of "surveillance of other advertising media published in metropolitan Kansas City" and uses information obtained therefrom as a basis for "warning advertisers" that the Star disapproves whenever an advertiser spends money in another medium—this even includes billboards or concert programs!

In addition, national, classified and local amusements advertisers are required to purchase ads in the *Times* and the *Star* at combination rates. Requests to advertise in only one of the papers are rejected.

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Radio and Television Advertising—The Grand Jury found that the Star has refused to contract for television broadcasting and advertising time on WDAF-TV with "advertisers who do not advertise in the [Star] newspapers or on the [Star] radio station, and others engaged in publishing a printed publication in metropolitan Kansas City selling advertising space."

News Vendors and Carriers—The practice of requiring newspaper vendors and carriers to refrain from selling or distributing any competing publication in Kansas City, extends to even the sale and distribution of "shopper publications or circulars." This monopoly of news distribution is perhaps one reason why the Kansas City *Kansan* is not sold in K.C., Mo.

Subscribers—While the Kansas City *Journal* was publishing, the Grand Jury charges, the *Star*, *Times* and *Sunday Star* were delivered to homes for "arbitrarily low rates"; but when the *Journal* went out of business, the rates were raised. Mr. Roberts claims that the rise in the cost of newsprint, labor and taxes forced the subscription rates upward. Subscribers are unable to buy the newspapers separately and must purchase subscriptions to all three papers as a unit at combination rates.

Outgoing Attorney-General McGranery declared that such illegal and unfair practices "destroy competition in the newspaper field" and "must be eliminated if we are to depend on a free press as the bulwark of our political and economic freedom."

How widespread are such practices? Although none, so far as is known, has copied the *Star's* compulsory combination subscription rates, it is estimated that publishers in more than 80 cities who own both morning and afternoon papers have "forced combination" advertising sales policies. One such case is now before the Supreme Court and is scheduled to be argued on March 9—the *US* v *Times Picayune Publishing Company* case where the Federal District Court ruled "tying-in" sales in violation of the Sherman Act. The Supreme Court, in another antitrust proceedings (*Lorain Journal Company* v *US*) upheld a decree enjoining the paper from refusing to sell ad space to local merchants who bought advertising time on a nearby radio station. Neither of these cases, however, involve charges as broad as those brought against the Star Company.

When the Grand Jury handed down its indictment against the Star on January 6, most of the newspapers throughout the country minimized the charges, carrying only a short news story the following day. On January 8, the Star bought half-page ads in the Washington (D.C.) *Post*, the New York *Times* and other large papers to "reply" to the antitrust charges. The ad accused the Administration of attempting to smear the *Star* and the *Times* because the papers had exposed "the Pendergast machine" and "Democratic election scandals" in Missouri. Allied with the Star is Sen. Frank Carlson (R, Kans.) who has issued public statements calling the investigation pure politics.

However, the *Daily News*, an anti-Truman paper published in Independence, Mo., took the punch out of that claim:

> The readers of this paper know full well that we would not, with our final breath, defend Truman. But in this instance the indictment is certainly not politically inspired. . . . We don't want to see Roy Roberts in jail. But we do feel that the indictment is justified, and that it will be to the best interests of all concerned, if a finding of guilty forces the Star Company to desist from the exertion of monopoly and economic power and opens the Kansas City area to competitive newspaper and radio advertising.

Perhaps Harry Truman's rightful indignation over the one-party press did spur the recent activity. But whether or not it was politically motivated, the charges against Star control over the dissemination of news in Kansas City are serious ones—especially in these days of a rapidly dwindling competitive press.

Today more than 90 percent of the nation's newspaper communities are one-publisher—strict monopoly—towns. John G. Simon, who made a study of local monopoly in the daily newspaper industry for the *Yale Law Journal* (June, 1952), points out that "although the decline in the number of dailies has recently abated, the trend toward local monopoly persists." Today more than 80 percent of all cities served by local dailies have only one paper and about 10 percent of newspaper-cities have two or more dailies owned by one publisher. Mr. Simon found that *a single publisher serves almost half of all cities of more than 100,000 population.* The total number of daily newspapers fell by one-fourth between 1909 and 1950.

To emphasize the growth of concentration of ownership in mass-communications industries, Mr. Simon reports:

> Eight major studios dominate film production. A majority of AM radio stations and a large percentage of television outlets are affiliates of five major radio and TV networks. . . . A handful of publishers supplies the bulk of popular magazine circulation. And a few dozen regional and national chains own newspapers which account for almost half of total daily circulation and more than half of total Sunday circulation.

Herein lies the danger to all our freedoms. Will the new Administration challenge this pattern of concentration? The Kansas City Star case will be Attorney-General Brownell's first test. He can either prosecute or drop it.

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THE CHOICE BEFORE SOUTH AFRICA

A FEW DAYS AGO Mr. J. G. N. Strauss, leader of the Opposition United Party which holds slightly less than half the seats in the South African Parliament, charged Dr. D. F.Malan's Government with: (a) "Destruction of the unity between the white people of our nation; (b) The use of fear and the trickery of a word [apartheid] *in order to gain power. . . . ; (c) Contempt for all decent Christian sentiments in non-European relations; (d) Alienating the sympathy of friendly nations abroad; (e) Breaking the faith and violating the rule of law in order to retain power; and (f) Incompetence and waste in the affairs of our country and neglect of the welfare of the common man. . . . " "This government," he said, "has brought bloodshed to our land."*

On the same day, Dr. Malan's Government furnished dramatic substantiation for Mr. Strauss' charges by introducing legislation permitting it to rule dictatorially at will. Exploiting the passive Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign at home and the Mau Mau violence in Kenya, Malan has requested, and his bare majority assures he will receive, power to issue regulations superseding and suspending all existing law anytime he chooses to proclaim that "any action or threatened action by any persons or body of persons . . . is of such a nature and of such an extent that the safety of the public or the maintenance of public order is seriously threatened."

Broader, more general and sweeping language would be difficult to conceive. Such language supporting such power has been the keystone of every totalitarian regime ever established. And that is the inevitable result of such a first step. For, although laws on qualifications for election or tenure of office for Senate and House members, and regulations governing the holding of Parliamentary sessions and the immunities of Members of Parliament are excepted from this wholesale grant of power, the government would nonetheless be able to suspend all civil rights, censor or suspend the press, prohibit public assembly, confiscate goods and property, impose the death penalty, search and seize and create concentration camps, all under the pretext of protecting the public.

Regulations issued under this legislation must be approved by a majority in Parliament. Whether or not South Africa becomes a dictatorship, therefore, depends upon the April elections. Malan's majority is very slim; he has already attempted to insure the election results by disenfranchising the Cape Coloreds (persons of mixed blood). He was stopped by the Supreme Court. But this new measure, in effect, seeks to abolish the testing rights of the Courts.

Malan's probable tactics to perpetuate his power, along with an analysis of the political and social forces in South Africa, is the subject of the article below.

by C. W. M. Gell

IN MAY and June, 1952, the Union of South Africa seemed close to civil war between its white factions over the Malan Government's attempts to abrogate the Constitution and rig the vote. That danger temporarily receded when Dr. D. F. Malan accepted the final unanimous verdict of the Supreme Court on November 13 that his "High Court of Parliament" was illegal and unconstitutional.

The constitutional issue is not, however, dead. The Nationalist election program will ask a mandate to "establish the sovereignty of Parliament over a Court of five paid officials." Since there is no prospect of their obtaining a two-thirds majority, the Nationalists, even if successful, will still be blocked by the Constitution and the Courts from eliminating the Colored vote and the Native Representatives, and thus finally creating their one-race, one-language, one-party republic. But Sen. H. F. Verwoerd, the Minister of Native Affairs, has specifically promised that his party will go ahead with or without a two-thirds majority. Sometime, therefore, the Nationalists will try to get around the entrenched clauses of the Constitution by creating 50 new senatorships to be filled by government nominees, or by introducing legislation to abolish the testing rights of the courts. But whatever they do will be a breach of the law and the Union compact; the White Opposition will be back where it is today, ready to resist illegal measures by every legal means and to meet force with force if the government tries to impose invalid legislation.

This is an important matter, as all recent European history will show, but it is subordinate to the other question which now dominates the South African scene. The argument between the white parties is not dictatorship versus democracy, but whether political supremacy shall be vested in the whole white community or in the Nationalist section only. Afrikaners number about 64 percent of the white population. In 1948 only 45 percent of the almost all-white electorate voted Nationalist. But if the Coloreds can be eliminated from between five and 10 marginal Cape seats, if the three Native Representatives are abolished, and if the emotional appeal to racial and historical grievances wins over a little more of the non-Nationalist Afrikaans vote, Nationalist strength in the over-represented countryside will be able almost indefi-

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nitely to defeat opponents whose strength lies in the under-represented towns; trifling adjustments to the electoral laws would then make the Nationalists "election-proof."

Yet since many of their own supporters hold serious misgivings about abandoning the Constitution and the rule of law, the Nationalists will keep these ultimate political designs relatively in the background during the coming election campaign. They will concentrate their chief offensive on the color question, for which Dr. Malan set the stage at Odendaalsrus on November 14:

> In April the people will be asked whether, in view not only of the internal disturbances, but also in view of interference in our domestic affairs from abroad, the country should have a weak or a strong government. In other words you will be asked whether you are prepared to commit national suicide.

The real issues are domestic. Their visible symptoms are the Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign and race riots. The Defiance Campaign began quietly on June 26. It is organized by the allied African National Congress and the S.A. Indian Congress as a protest against four discriminatory laws passed by the Nationalist Government and two sets of regulations, most of which have been in force for years but which have been administered by the Nationalists with an arrogant severity not previously practiced. Two of the four laws and most of the regulations are substantially supported by the White Opposition, although it would apply them less aggressively than the present government. As the campaign has progressed, it has become clear that the non-European peoples are in fact protesting not merely against the laws at which Defiance is ostensibly aimed, but against the general principle of discrimination based solely on grounds of race or pigmentation.

The Defiance Campaign has proceeded with a dignity and restraint even sympathetic observers did not believe possible. By the end of October, over 7,000 Africans and Indians had deliberately broken petty segregatory laws. Arrested and fined, they have gone joyfully to prison rather than pay. Some juveniles have been caned. With very few exceptions, the crowds of non-European onlookers at Defiance demonstrations have been cheerful and pacific, contrasting favorably with the impatience of the police and their ready resort to baton charges. Despite some ill-treatment in the prisons (usually explained away as "falling against the table in the charge-office" or "tripping on the stairs leading down to the cells"), volunteer passive resisters come forward in increasing numbers.

On October 18 the first riot occurred at Port Elizabeth; it was followed by others at Johannesburg, Kimberley and East London during the next three weeks. The ascertained casualties were six Europeans murdered by the mobs, 31 Africans killed and 136 wounded by the police. African casualties are often higher than the official figures. Several hundred thousand dollars worth of property was destroyed.

Now the government, which has consistently encouraged the police to deal firmly and forcibly with non-Europeans, has refused to hold judicial inquiries into the cause of these riots, because it wishes to avoid public examination of police methods and is anxious to put the blame on the Defiance Campaign without having to prove its allegations. But none of these riots arose out of Defiance incidents, and it does appear that two, possibly three, of them were sparked off by provocative police actions. It is, of course, possible that the riots were deliberately engineered by Communists, but on available evidence that seems improbable. They seem to have been genuinely unpremeditated, though certainly indicating a degree of racial tension even yet not fully appreciated. But there must always be a risk that continued white intransigeance, the government's refusal either to meet or even acknowledge the moderate non-European leaders, and the maximum use of repressive force without any judicial attempt to discover the causes will so aggravate racial tension that leadership of the masses may pass from liberal progressives to racial extremists, demagogues and criminal gangs.

The Nationalist Government seeks to meet the moral and political challenge of the Defiance Campaign by a uniform application of strong-arm methods. The Minister of Justice is itching to flog passive resisters and the government talks of introducing measures similar to those used in Kenya against the openly terrorist Mau Mau.

As the Minister of Lands, J. G. Strydom, said on September 13: "The white man can only succeed in staying in South Africa, if we keep all power in our hands." Fortified by religious dogma and scriptural sanction, the Nationalists identify the maintenance of "white civilization" with the survival of a "chosen" white race. Their program for South Africa is to retain exclusive white political control of the "European economy." Non-European unskilled laborers will be treated as temporary migrants in the "European areas" without rights or hope of better paid employment; but they will be allowed "the fullest development in their own sphere." Since, however, this sphere comprises only 12 percent of the area of the Union and cannot today support its 3.5 million inhabitants (about 40 percent of the African population), there is no possibility whatever that it will be able to accommodate the whole (or even the majority) of an estimated African population of some 20 millions in 50 years' time. In this sense, *apartheid* is a political

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fraud, tempting the African with an illusory home where (subject to overriding white control) he hopes to be his own master and justifying the European in his permanent denial of any rights to "temporary African migrants" in the remaining nine-tenths of the country.

In fact, although Nationalist policy is gradually to return the African population to its overcrowded and overgrazed rural reserves, more Africans have settled in the "European" urban areas during the last four years than in any other comparable period. Nationalist *apartheid*, therefore, differs little in practice from the policy of the Opposition which is to encourage the integration of non-European labor into the white economy, subject always to white political supremacy (camouflaged as "white leadership with justice"), the industrial color bar, residential, social and sexual segregation, compulsorily enforced by law. That is to say, all European parties wish to retain a supply of cheap labor for their comfort and convenience without making any concessions.

The Opposition parties certainly avoid the cruder excesses of the Nationalists. But faced with an organized agitation by Africans and Indians and with the grave possibility of further violence, offered the choice between a government consistently dedicated to maintain full-blooded white supremacy by force or an Opposition which promises a somewhat diluted version of the same policy, the floating white voter will only too probably take the short-term view of his own self-interest and put the Nationalists back in power in 1953. He will see, as Nationalist speakers are already pointing out, that consultation means concessions or is meaningless. He will believe that he is voting against "national suicide."

A Nationalist victory in April will be a calamity for the Union, all Africa and the free world. It may precipitate civil war between the whites over the Constitution. It will almost extinguish hope of ever achieving honorable compromise between the various races. With little hope of a peaceful solution, the white one-fifth will be committed to a desperate rear-guard action in which time, numbers and world opinion will be against it. The present Defiance Campaign might be crushed. But it has started something which will recur again and again with increasing bitterness and force, until non-Europeans are treated as persons capable of cultural advance and civic responsibility to which they must be admitted as they individually attain to civilized standards.

And even if I am wrong about the election, even if the Opposition wins in April, nothing will be gained but a brief respite. The Congresses have promised to continue Defiance, whoever wins, until agreement is reached to end racial discrimination. Since the Opposition is not explicitly committed to the Nationalists' *herrenvolk* ideology, compromise will become possible. But racial prejudice and group interests leave little room for the substantial concessions which alone would offer the non-Europeans a ground for loyalty and a source of hope. If no white party will offer mutual respect and equal opportunity, can Defiance avoid becoming anti-white?

Neither party is fighting the election on a program which has the slightest chance of winning non-European consent and co-operation, without which no policy can any longer be implemented. Both parties probably realize this, but dare not risk losing immediate white electoral support by abandoning traditional attitudes. When the election is over, there will be a government pledged either to *apartheid* without real separation or to economic integration without political and social concessions. Both these policies amount to an attempt by the white minority to perpetuate its position of privilege and profit against the logic of facts, the demands of conscience and the trend of world events. If neither party nor the white electorate will move from these positions, South Africa will become untenable for Europeans within this century—and how much else of Africa too?

Yet influential minorities within each white group are becoming articulate, arguing that the traditional policy is physically impossible, morally indefensible and economically disastrous. A small section of the Afrikaans intelligentsia and of the ministry of the Dutch Reformed Churches suggests that, since a white minority will never make concessions to a colored majority in a mixed society, *apartheid* must lead on to complete territorial partition and the elimination of non-European labor from the white economy. On the other side, liberal opinion is preaching the doctrines of equal rights for all civilized men and equal opportunities for all men to become civilized. Neither policy in its present form would meet non-European demands; but either could become a basis for fruitful discussion, if the colored peoples were convinced the whites meant business.

The only hope of avoiding disaster is that either or both of the main political parties declare for one or the other of these goals soon after the election. Partition involves immense, probably crippling, economic and territorial sacrifices by both white and black. The liberal solution demands the sacrifice of these fears and prejudices, and a colossal act of faith on the part of a numerical minority that those whom it has long repressed will not return the compliment when in a position to do so.

The fervor with which the Nationalists dissociate themselves from total *apartheid* and the Opposition clears itself of any truck with equality, whether immediate or ultimate, supports the view that the whites will continue to play for time—and time is on the side of disaster.

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LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

CEZANNE'S VISION

by Joseph Frank

PAUL CEZANNE is one of the best known and, at the same time, one of the most baffling and mysterious figures in the history of modern art. Compared with the flamboyant adventures of Gauguin, or the religious self-torments of Van Gogh, Cézanne's life seems monotonously uneventful. Timid, shy, pathologically suspicious, Cézanne came to Paris as a young man to study art; all his life he shuttled back and forth restlessly between the north of France and his beloved Provence; toward the end,

CEZANNE, *A Study of His Development*, by Roger Fry (Macmillan; $3).

CEZANNE, by Meyer Schapiro (Abrams; $12.50).

the sun-baked earth and vibrant colors of his native province settled him in the vicinity of Aix more or less permanently. In his youth, he had dreamed of painting huge, Baroque compositions, and, if we can believe Emile Bernard, still entertained the idea of an elaborate *Apotheosis of Delacroix* up to the very end. But the works for which he is famous, and which have changed the whole course of modern art, mark the decisive break with the Renaissance tradition of representation that he originally wished to emulate. And even in his great works, now hailed as among the dominating masterpieces of modern times, Cézanne felt himself unable to articulate fully the vision that seemed to elude him behind the capricious volatility of nature. When a friend mentioned Balzac's story *The Unknown Masterpiece*, in which an artist dies in despair before completing the perfect painting, Cézanne mutely, with tears in his eyes, pointed to himself. For Cézanne, too, was possessed by a vision, and it is this vision that gave to his drab and narrow life the dignity of a great struggle and a great conquest.

How may this vision be described? One of the most penetrating efforts to answer this question was made by Roger Fry in 1927, and his brilliant little book, now reissued, has become one of the classics of modern art criticism. In Fry's view, Cézanne struggled throughout his life to combine the Impressionist analysis of visual sensation with his own innate sense of plastic form. He refused to sacrifice one for the other (as the Impressionists, and, after Cézanne, the abstract Post-Impressionists have done), and succeeded in forging a new synthesis by daring infractions of verisimilitude and accepted notions of composition. Cézanne transcended both the literary inspiration of Romanticism and the formal flaccidity of Impressionism; he is, in fact, the creator of a new Classicism based not on any new range of pictorial imagery, but on the expressive qualities of plastic form itself.

So far as Fry goes, his analysis is exemplary and invaluable; it is so good that to ask for more is nothing but rank ingratitude; yet its limits are self-evident. Fry confines his discussion exclusively to Cézanne's stylistic evolution, and makes little effort to interpret Cézanne's work in other than formal terms. Cézanne's vision, in other words, becomes primarily a technical struggle with his medium. For Cézanne's purpose, Fry argues, was obviously not representational; it was to create an artistic harmony independent of the natural world from which it drew its elements. "Art," Cézanne once said, "is a harmony parallel with nature"; and Fry uses this phrase as the epigraph to his book. Clearly, the value of Cézanne's work does not stem from its skill in depicting appearances, or from the dramatic or poetic interest of its subject-matter. But then, from where does it come? Fry answered with his doctrine of "significant form," which derives the value of an art-work exclusively from some mysterious property of its formal relationships.

This theory unquestionably filled the historic need for an intellectual rationale that would justify the experiments of modern artists. But it is, nonetheless, based on a fallacy. "Technical questions *(les procédés)*," Cezanne once wrote of true artists, "are for us only the means of making the public feel what we feel ourselves." While it is certainly illegitimate for the critic to look for conventional representation in Cézanne's works, it is equally so to overlook the expressive implications of his formal experiments. Even the most abstract art arouses an emotional response that it is the function of the critic to articulate and define, not only by formal description but also by seeking to understand what the artist felt and wished to make the public feel. This has always been done in relation to architecture, and there is no reason why it should not be done for the non-representational art of modern times. Of course Fry was much too ardent a sensibility to neglect this task entirely; but his extra-formal excursions are made apologetically, and are never interrelated with the formal analysis. Finally, Fry is forced to confess that "in the last resort we cannot in the least explain why the smallest product of [Cézanne's] hand arouses the impression of being a revelation of the highest importance, or what exactly it is that gives it its grave authority." I think this is more than an honest confession of the ultimate impotence of all criticism to penetrate the concrete reality of the work of art. It is also an admission that we cannot approach the spiritual significance of Cézanne's work if, like Fry, we limit ourselves purely to formal considerations.

Having assimilated Fry's formal insights, it is Meyer Schapiro's great merit that he makes a determined effort to pass beyond them into the creative center of Cézanne's pictorial universe. Not only does he give a general sketch of Cézanne's life and work in the introduction to this sumptuously produced album: he also comments individually on each of the fifty color plates in the text.

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Schapiro's search for symbolism, it must be admitted, occasionally leads him beyond the bounds of plausibility; nor is his appeal to psychoanalysis always happy—particularly the suggestion that Cézanne's pre-occupation with still-life was an unconscious effort to restore harmony to the family table. If true, this would lead to sombre reflections on Dutch family life in the seventeenth century. Nonetheless, the introduction contains many illuminating remarks on the expressive aspects of Cézanne's technique and themes. And Schapiro bravely faces all the hazards of a prolonged and exacting confrontation with the isolated work.

Cézanne's landscapes, Schapiro points out, rarely contain human figures; they are "cut off from the spectator by a foreground of parallel bands or some obstacle or rocks or trees"; "we are invited to look, but not to enter or traverse the space." Similarly, in contrast to the tradition of still-life painting, Cézanne's still-lifes "have nothing of the formality of a human purpose." Like the landscape, they exist only for esthetic contemplation—removed from any association with the life of the spectator. Cézanne's world is thus detached from personal involvement; but it became so, as Schapiro notes, only after he had repressed the erotic fantasies of his early paintings. This transformation is indeed the most striking in Cézanne's art, and it is the harbinger of his mature style.

But these fantasies, and the urge to embody them in art, never vanished entirely. Cézanne painted several versions of the temptation of St. Anthony, and Flaubert's book was one of his life-long favorites; the triumph over temptation, the victory of saintly virtue, never ceased to haunt his imagination. Impressionism, there can be no doubt, taught Cézanne far more than simply to paint outdoors with a brighter palette. It was a psychic event of great importance, the submission of his fantasies, to a visual discipline that was to sustain and torment him the rest of his life. As Cézanne once said, before having studied with Pisarro he had lived (and presumably worked) like a Gypsy. But after his discipleship, his work became a glorious image of his dearly bought self-mastery and perilously poised equilibrium.

Cézanne's vision, then, becomes for Schapiro essentially an ideal world of sensuous realization, a mystic contemplation from which desire is absent. But I think there is an even profounder level than the esthetic to be intuited in Cézanne's work, an inspiration that can only be called metaphysical. Cézanne once wrote: "Nature is always the same, but nothing remains of it, nothing of what we see. Our art should give to nature the thrill of continuance with the appearance of all its changes. It should enable us to feel nature as eternal." This need for stability, this effort to arrest the flow of life and time, was indeed one of the deepest impulses of Cézanne's nature. We know of his political and social conservatism, his feeling of helplessness and weakness before the flux of events in his lifetime—and then we turn to what Fry rightly called the "grave authority" of his work, its stability, immobility and massive equilibrium, even in those pictures where his brush was obviously agitated. Does not each work appear to enshrine a moment perfectly realized, transfixed in an enchanted and miraculous stillness? Cézanne, like Faust in his moment of plenitude, is constantly saying to the passing moment: *"Verweile doch! du bist so schön!"* (Yet stay! thou art so fair). He paints each moment in this spirit of reverence and rapture; he transfigures the flux of appearance without destroying its life. This is truly, as Fry sensed, a "revelation of the highest importance." For what it reveals, and what the ill-tempered recluse of Aix was striving for, is nothing less than the highest spiritual goal to which Western man can aspire: the union of Time and Eternity.

ADVISER OF PRESIDENTS

PEACE THROUGH STRENGTH: *Bernard Baruch and a Blueprint for Security*, by M. V. Rosenbloom (Farrar, Straus and Young; $3.95).

THIS IS A TIMELY exposition of Mr. Baruch's views regarding military preparedness, budget policy, inflation prevention, peace-waging strategy, and similar matters, on which the adviser of Presidents and park-bench economist has expressed his convictions frequently and forcefully during the past three decades. The book, with a foreword by Eleanor Roosevelt and an afterword by Charles (General Electric) Wilson, ends with a chapter giving the author's conception of the recommendations that Baruch would presumably offer to the Eisenhower Administration.

Since World War I, Bernard Baruch, who majored in classical language as an undergraduate, has been a great public leader, promoting economic plans and crusading for preparedness. He has been an unusual kind of elder statesman. His views have been widely respected and accepted in the nation and in Congress, although he has never carried a precinct, his total service in government positions probably adds up to less than four years, and, as a Wall Street speculator, he has never "met" much of a payroll.

What accounts for Bernard Baruch's potency in national affairs? Why have seven Presidents, Congressional leaders, and the newspapers welcomed his views? As a multi-millionaire who puts country before self-advancement or business profit, he has usually talked sense, whether it was popular or not.

A great promoter of ideas, Mr. Baruch has an ability to reduce things to their essentials and a gift for apt phraseology and telling illustrations. His recommendations, based on factual studies and accumulated wisdom, are drawn in broad terms to avoid argument about administrative details. Often his foresight has been supported by subsequent experience, although occasionally he has miscalculated, as in June, 1929, when he observed: "The economic condition of the world seems on the verge of a great forward movement" and in 1946 when he predicted: "With full production, we can escape inflation."

A compilation of any person's opinions expressed over a period of thirty years is bound to reveal some apparent inconsistencies. That is true of Bernard Baruch, but his views have been remarkably stable because his basic position on mobilization policy has remained unaltered since it was formulated from his experience as chairman of the War Industries Board in the First World War.

The chief weakness of Baruch's program as a blueprint for the Eisenhower

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Administration is its origin and orientation. Particularly its economic aspects seem somewhat unsuited for a cold-war situation expected to continue for an indefinite period.

Fundamentally, Mr. Baruch adheres to the Manchester School of Economics, repeatedly referring to "natural economic laws" which are "immutable as the multiplication tables," as "fixed and unbeatable as the law of gravitation." Yet for war preparation he is the extreme economic planner, wanting to control all prices and wages and even to force style and model simplification. No well-developed economic philosophy bridges his advocacy of tight central control for war emergencies and complete reliance on market determination for normal peacetime. The in-between conditions—the years of international tension—are the really troublesome ones for Dr. Facts as Woodrow Wilson called the chairman of his War Industries Board. In 1946, for example, he recommended continuation of price controls and elimination of all strikes and lockouts for a year (means unspecified), while also insisting on avoidance of "an economic dictatorship."

Baruch offers no real solution for the economic dilemma facing the Eisenhower Administration—that is, how to avoid further price inflation while continuing full employment and permitting free collective bargaining by unions accustomed to increases of 5 to 10 percent a year. Full employment means inflationary pressures, yet any attempt to create sufficient unemployment to dampen union demands involves the threat of economic recession and political retribution for the Republican Party.

Mr. Rosenbloom squeezes all the current applications possible out of a set of views developed for an earlier period. The book is lucidly written; it reveals a mastery of the subject, a good critical perspective, and a real understanding of mobilization experience during World War II and thereafter. Its chief weakness is a lack of a clear-cut basis of organization. Undoubtedly this difficulty stems largely from the material itself. Under the circumstances, and with quotations for chapter titles, a somewhat more complete index would be particularly helpful. RICHARD LESTER

A POET ABROAD

THE DRAGON AND THE UNICORN, by Kenneth Rexroth (New Directions; $3).

A LONG TRAVEL POEM, formally in the tradition (as Mr. Rexroth observes) of Samuel Rogers and Arthur Clough: yes, it is that; although one wonders what the ghosts of Rogers and Clough are making of it in Heaven. "Only a development of that idealist anarchism which has been characteristic of American thoughts since its beginnings," he adds: and yes, it is that, too; although I should prefer to translate "idealist anarchism" into "compassionate horse sense." Above all, a caustic urgent document for our times, a slap in the face for the complacent, an indignant pillorying of the international fathead, and a mine of shame for the best of the men of good will. One is irresistibly reminded of *Innocents Abroad,* that silly book, that extended parochial giggle in the face of European splendor and pretensions to splendor; for although Mark Twain at that period of his growth was playing the Empsonian rube, American version, for all it was worth, the motive of *Innocents,* the informing though all but asphyxiated spirit, was instinctively right, above shibboleths and *mores*, and as humane as Swift. It is as though in Rexroth we had a Mark Twain who had grown up; who, without yielding an iota of his sense of the absurd and the pitiful, had discarded the clown's motley for the darker dress of the comic philosopher; and who had miraculously been endowed with the power of making poetry. This account of Rexroth's travels in England, Wales, France, Italy, and so on, operates on many levels of which the surface one—narrative, anecdote, description—though the most entertaining, is the least ponderable. It is an indictment of society. It is an indictment of—well, not so much what America is doing to Europe, as what the whole of Western civilization is doing to itself. The *J'accuse!* is unanswerable.

Two objections. In his passionate attempt to be fair to what used to be called "the underprivileged" until the word became subversive, Rexroth assumes a kind of inverted snobbery. It is untrue that human decency is to be found only among whores, derelicts, social outlaws, and the like. Occasionally even a gentleman can stand up to God: will Rexroth forgive me if I cite him as an example? "Scorn not the highly born"—the Lords in *Iolanthe* have a chorus which is pertinent here. A lapse of proportion, a lapse of saving humor. And from the point of view of technic: while the verse at its best moves burningly up into the realm of poetry, too much of it—whole pages of it—is flat, uncadenced prose. A deliberate device, I am sure, but in the end a tiresome one. The better way is, for example, in the conclusion of the whole matter:

> Coming up the road
> Through the black oak shadows, I
> See ahead of me, glinting
> Everywhere from the dusty
> Gravel, tiny points of cold
> Blue light, like the sparkle of
> Iron snow. I suspect what it is,
> And kneel to see. Under each
> Pebble and oak leaf is a
> Spider, her eyes shining at
> Me with reflected light
> Across immeasurable distance.

Arachnê. Indefatigable spinner, surest technician. DUDLEY FITTS

ART AND RELIGION

SPIRITUAL PROBLEMS IN CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE, edited by Stanley Romaine Hopper (Harper; $3).

HERE, under a somewhat imprecise title, is a collection of studies, originally presented as lectures at the Institute for Religious and Social Studies of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America in New York City. The Institute is a graduate school conducted with the co-operation of Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish scholars, concerned with mutual enlightenment rather than with the settlement or argument of disputed claims. The two series of lectures which, with the addition of one other piece, comprise this volume represent an attempt to arrange a meeting of minds, to the same end, between men of letters and theologians. Despite the fact that some of the lecturers do not seem to have understood the question, it contains much that is valuable, and a few distinguished pieces.

The essays are organized in three sections. The first approaches the question of the relationship of the literary artist

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to the other arts, and to Sociology, Philosophy, and to "the modern world." There are very good offerings by Albert Salomon and Theodore Spencer. The other contributions, though of interest, are less rewarding.

In contrast to Irwin Edman's vexing dismissal of Existentialism by a quoted witticism of his own on the subject, is William Barrett's thoughtful study of Existentialism as a symptom of the contemporary crisis. This excellent bit is to be found among other fine things, notably those of David Daiches and Cleanth Brooks, in the second section, Religion and the Artist's Means. This group deals, somewhat diffusely, with theodicy, mysticism, "myth," moral isolation, and metaphor as "means." The usefulness of one of the studies, *The Use of Myth in Kafka and Mann,* by Harry Slochower, might have been enhanced by careful reference to the *Book of Job, Genesis,* and *Psalm* 77; the essayist's ingenious, rather political, interpretation of Mann's meaning on the question of the loss of Joseph's blessing, or its loss to his tribe, would have been enriched by a more precise knowledge of the peculiar importance of the tribe of Juda with respect to Christianity.

The essays in the final section deal with religion and the artist's beliefs. Included are unpretentious and instructive studies by Rabbi Judah Goldin, George Kernodle and Wallace Fowlie, and a chapter from his own recent book on modern poetry and the Christian tradition by Amos Wilder, who shows an amusing delicacy toward a downright announcement that Allen Tate, one of the chief subjects of analysis in his examination entitled *Protestant Orientation in Contemporary Poetry,* became a Roman Catholic two years ago.

The most provocative idea to be found is dropped lightly but gravely in what is perhaps the best essay in this collection, that of Denis de Rougemont. The terms used in the twentieth century to describe what the artist does, de Rougement observes, are irresistibly evocative of the attributes of the Trinity. While condemning the Promethean use of such terms, he suggests that there is much to be learned about the human mysteries of the act of art if they are reflected upon within the framework of the doctrine and mystery of the Trinity.

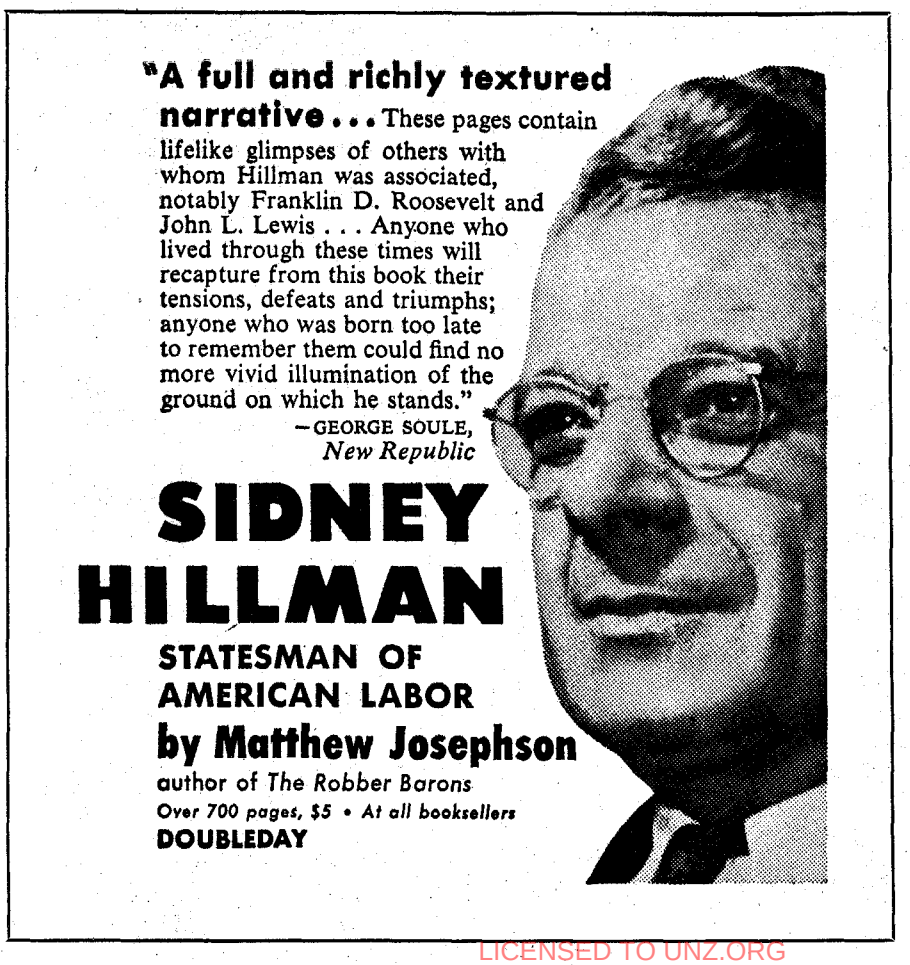
Such efforts as this book represents can on the whole help to clear up some of the confusion and even suspicion between literary men and theologians, even if at some points the results would seem more likely to deepen it. The theologians, by the way, often appear to take the artists more seriously than the artists take *them.* And this is not as it should be.

S. M. FITZGERALD

VERSES AND POEMS

THE FIRST MORNING, by Peter Viereck (Scribners; $3). THE WHITE THRESHOLD, by W. S. Graham (Grove; $2.25). THE YEAR ONE, by Kathleen Raine (Hamish Hamilton; 7/6). THE LONDON BOOK OF ENGLISH VERSE, selected by Herbert Read and Bonamy Dobrée (Macmillan; $3.75).

EVEN IF SANTAYANA *did* write Peter Viereck from Rome: "Oh, then you are a great man," neither the poet nor his publisher should have allowed such a statement to chance gathering a film of dust on what is, after all, a dust jacket. And what can impish Robert Frost be up to with: "Peter Viereck . . . is the present hope of poetry"—on the same dusty jacket? Indeed, I doubt that Viereck is essentially a poet at all. He writes with a dashing competence in a wide variety of verse forms, meters and modes; but rarely do I find a consistent cadence of his own; these are the old tunes refurbished and slicked up, but lacking that peculiar crack in the voice which can belong to one poet only. Perhaps the admirerers who find in Viereck a "new voice" refer not to his cadences but to his diction and general attitude, in which I find, however, together with much vitality and freshness, overmuch gauchery ("I'll honor gaucheness anywhere I find it"), cleverness, lack of taste ("Last night my stamen/ Could hear her pistil sigh"), breeziness, charades, and posturing ("Will no one watch me? Look!, I'll dance on thread/ Or hold my breath for cameras till I burst."). The effect is at times that of a tennis player in full rythmical swing blissfully unaware that his shorts are slipping. Alertness, agil-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ity, intelligence, brusqueness are not the beating heart of poetry where a thought may be wooed but not flaunted, where a lyric may be seduced but not raped. In *Stanzas in Love with Life and August, Again, Again* and *Algiers in Wartime* Viereck gives us pleasing verse but not moving poetry.

W. S. Graham is Peter Viereck's antithesis: he is turbid, tortured, twisted, often obscure, meager in metrical experimentation, and unsuccessful in his longer poems—yet the exposed heart of poetry is there, sometimes raw and bleeding, sometimes stumbling with rapture or sheer giddiness. Graham is mostly turbulent song which has not yet found a more fluid articulation without loss of complex and contradictory notation. His lines are often blurred, as if a drunken man were singing with a thick tongue. He has yet to find for himself, in his own tradition of Scotch balladry, what Dylan Thomas, whom he at times echoes, has found and transformed in Welsh folk songs. But the singing voice and true heart of poetry are here, in *Since All My Steps Are Taken*, or in *Listen, Put on Morning*. Graham is crude but genuine ore which needs refining and purification; Viereck's poetry is gilded copper plate, genuine counterfeit.

But Kathleen Raine is the clear ringing voice that has come through. I doubt whether any other poet today, man or woman, is writing song of such immediacy. Her poems have always had the clear form of crystal, but now she writes with a crystalline fire which recalls some of the early poems of William Blake. Here is an innocence and utterance that is neither naïve nor halting, a resolution of much strain and suffering, a lambency that irradiates the common symbols of nature into the spells, incantations, invocations and incarnations (the titles and intentions of most of her poems) of a spirit who dares to be simple because she has been purified in the well of song. The courage of such full utterance can only come from a discovery and belief of self, and the quality of her discovery, let her be assured, can lead to no betrayal.

Of the three poets considered, only Kathleen Raine may at present grace such a compendium as *The London Book of English Verse*, which includes almost 900 pages of poetry from Chaucer to Eliot. Its editors, Herbert Read and Bonamy Dobrée—names that are an immediate guarantee of quality—have rejected more than half of the material offered by Palgrave in his famous *Golden Treasury* or by Quiller-Couch in his *Oxford* anthology by omitting all poetry of a false romantic or sentimental cast. They have also included enough extracts from long poems to demonstrate that poetry has not only a lyrical but also a conversational rhythm and tone. Some will find the ten divisions of the book, from simpler "narrative" to more complex "symphonic" poems, of decided interest and instruction, but I find that this blurs the sharpness of selection. It is comparatively easy to make divisions of "narrative," or "satirical," verse, or of "poems and incantations," but the boundaries are nowhere clear in such divisions as "sentiment," "fancy," "impressions and memories," or "generalizations and judgments." Not only do I find the common division by author and period to be more valid integrally and historically, but I also think that a division such as the one followed by the editors imposes false restrictions on many poems not adapted to such solitary confinement.

KIMON FRIAR

FILMS: PAGNOL DEFACED

THE PHYSICALLY SURCHARGED atmosphere of Europe has been lately sending us films reflective of the profound doubt not only of institutions but of artistic formulas. Unfortunately, no master hand has yet been revealed at what might be called the "Existentialist" game of providing a new esthetic to manage expression of the new states of mind and feeling. A brilliant effort at this sort of thing, however, is *Forbidden Games*, a film with the distinction of having won the Grand Prize at the Venice Film Festival last year. Derived from *Jeux Interdits*, a novel by Francis Boyer, and directed by René Clement, it acts as a sort of Existentialist "critic" of the Pagnol comedy genre—and presents its moral tragedy of childhood as an ambiguously weighted piece of symbolism that seems

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the father who wishes to ascertain from his son the whereabouts of crosses stolen esthetically inept in proportion to what may be construed as its moral applicability.

For some time, Marcel Pagnol has shown us tonic, if perhaps somewhat romanticized, versions of the peasant as a sort of pagan, by no means dependent on religion for his basic philosophic and spiritual sustenance, but rather on a certain dateless humanism of which poetry itself has increasingly come to be identified as the home. The strength of Pagnol's viewpoint lay in its gusty and shrewd evaluation of the elementary passions, where the carnal and the material were "realistically" mixed with the spiritual and the sublime; that is, in such amusing stories as *The Baker's Wife* and *The Well-Digger's Daughter*, the slightness of the cultural perspective (farm and village life) was redeemed by the large insight upon man the lover, man the father, man the worker, and so on. The malign moral elements, such as drunkenness, fornication, hate, and sacrilege, became benign in Pagnol's films through sheer gayety, comic irony, and a constant hold on the vitality of natural man.

Pagnol's "human beast" was the opposite of Zola's. With *Forbidden Games*, the peasant retains all the outward marks of the farce comedy with its antics of love, hate, and sacrilege, but owing to his juxtaposition to a pair of children—one a farm boy and the other a tiny refugee girl whose parents have been killed beside her on a road out of Paris—the "Pagnol peasant" acquires a curiously glum and sour aspect that robs our laughter of its purity. He becomes a strange, rather ominous beast, and one who betrays his honor toward the young in a way, and a light, not seen before in French peasant-comedy.

It is almost as a matter of course that by the boy from the graveyard, should make a bargain with him whose crucial issue he (the father) does not understand, and promptly break it, bringing to a tragic conclusion a story that has proceeded both poetically and comically. Instead of claiming, as he has promised, that the little refugee girl whom they have adopted, and for whom the gendarmes have come, belongs to the family, the father permits her to be taken away. The boy is in love, as only a boy can be, with the stranger child from whom he is thus torn apart. The fact that they have been conspirators, and a secret cemetery of animal corpses has occasioned their theft of the crosses, welds them together in a pattern of crime and "illicit" love that serves as an ambiguous parody of an affair between the boy's elder sister and the son of a neighboring family with whom a feud is being carried on.

The sense of the father's betrayal can only be, it would seem, that not only is internal family honor broken down but also the esthetic structure, which supports the whole comedy of benign, or "venial," illicitness in the peasant, has broken down by acquiring a new dimension. Sacrilege itself—poetic and pagan in the children's "forbidden game" of corpses, riotously or quietly comic in the adults' unconscious game—becomes serious, and quasi-tragic, exactly through its "comic" exaggeration here. We see the boy attempting to steal the very cross from the church altar, and it is inevitably funny. But its consequences, inevitably or not, are comic irony in a dubious tragic mould.

The special angle—the origin of the design—is that the stranger child has come to this family a perfect heathen, ignorant of the very meaning of a crucifix. So what happens when the first inmate of her burial ground is her own puppy, whose corpse she has carried in her arms, is that she discovers one of the cardinal points of human consciousness: resurrection through the spirit. It is this of which the stolen crosses are generic as well as specific symbols. Hence what is implied between the children is the love-death drama that traditionally has an ecstatic apotheosis. Rather than this apotheosis, what eventuates is a mere violent destruction coming in the middle of their affair, before, at such an age, they

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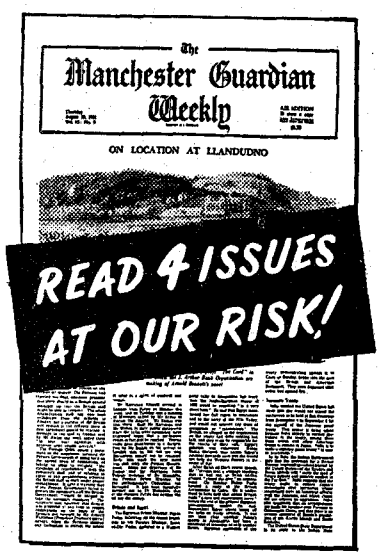

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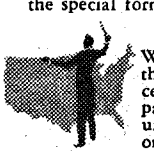

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